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some market-days for others, from which they live, and that at present they pay the tribute in corn and money, accordingly as they are appraised.

. . . there is no hospital for Spaniards nor any other seminary, except a hospital for the Indians which the town itself built to cure its sick.[4]

A study of sixteenth-century archive materials on Tepoztlán reveals that some of the pre-Hispanic industries mentioned in the above document, such as the manufacture of paper and cotton cloth, lasted for some time after the Conquest. In fact, the evidence suggests that rather than decline, the native industries may have expanded for a short time in response to the market provided by the Spaniards. Thus, a document dated March 2, 1551, containing a report on local conditions and submitted by an agent of the Marquesado del Valle reads as follows, ". . . the said Indians collect much chile, beans, corn, cotton, melons and *xicamas*. . . . Also, they have and make a great deal of paper, all of which they sell at excessive prices, dealing with Spaniards and with other Indian merchandise dealers."[5] Two other references indicate the continuation of the paper industry after the Conquest. One is found in the work of the great naturalist, Francisco Hernández, who visited Tepoztlán about 1575 and reported that Tepoztlán swarmed with workmen making paper.[6]

The other is a document dated February 4, 1591, which reports Tepoztecan complaints to the authorities to the effect that the cattle were damaging the trees from which they made paper.[7] This is the latest reference to papermaking in Tepoztlán that we found.

[248] Cotton growing, which is mentioned in many documents during the sixteenth

[4] *Relación*, pp. 243-48.

[5] *Hospital de Jesús*, Leg. 289, Exp. 100.

[6] Francisco Hernández, *Historia de las Plantas de Nueva España*, I (México, D.F.: Imprenta Universitaria), 249. In discussing the *amoquahuitl* (paper tree), he writes as follows:

"Nace en los montes de Tepoztlán, donde se mira hormiguear de obreros que fabrican de este árbol un papel no muy a propósito para escribir o trazar líneas, aunque no deja pasar la tinta a su través, pero propio para envolturas y muy adecuado y útil entre estos indios occidentales para celebrar las fiestas de los dioses, confeccionar las vestiduras sagradas, y para adornos funerarios. Se cortan solo las ramas truesas de los arboles, para dejar que los renuevos se endurezcan; se maceran con agua y se dejan remojar durante la noche en los arroyos o ríos. Al día siguiente, se les arranca la corteza, y después de limpiarla de la cutícula exterior, se extiende a golpes con una piedra plana pero surcada de algunas estrías, y que se sujeta con una vara de mumbre sin pulir doblada en círculo a manera de mango. Cede aquella madera flexible; se corta luego en trozos que, golpeados de nueve con otra piedra mas plana, se unen facilmente entre sí y se alisan; se dividen por ultimo en hojas de dos palmos de largo y palmo y medio aproximadamente de ancho, que imitan nuestra papel mas grueso y corriente, pero son más compactas y más blancas, aunque *muy* inferiores a nuestro papel más terso."

Tepoztlán was probably one of the most important sources of paper for the Aztecs. This opinion is given by Hans Lenz and Federico Gómez de Orozco in their study, *La Industria Papelera de México* (México: Editorial Cultura, 1940). They point out that Tepoztlán was one of the 24 towns which, according to the Codex Mendocino, paid in taxes 16,000 *resmas* of paper annually to Moctezuma.

[7] *Indios*, Vol. 5, Exp. 181.

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century, persisted in Tepoztlán almost until the Revolution. A reference to cotton growing in Tepoztlán is found as late as 1890 in one of the best early geographies of the state of Morelos.[6] Furthermore, some of my older informants remember having seen cotton plants grown in the late eighties and were able to give detailed descriptions of the plants and the way in which they were used.[7] Weaving went out at about the time cotton did.[8]

Another pre-Hispanic industry which has now practically disappeared is that of pulque making. According to old legends, pulque was invented in or near Tepoztlán, and Tepoztecans were famous for their celebrations and debauchery. In the ancient Codex Magliabecchiano manuscript at Florence there is a reference to Tepoztlán, as follows:

They celebrated another feast called Pilaũna, which means intoxication in children, because during the said feast the boys would dance with the girls and they would mutually give each other drink until they became intoxicated . . . these Indians being already nine to ten years old.[9]

Referring to the figure of Tepoztecatl or Ometochtli it says:

This is the figure of a great debauch that a village which calls itself Tepuztlán had as a rite, and when an Indian died from intoxication, the others in the village had a great dance bearing hatchets, made of copper in their hands. This village is near Yautepec, a dependence of the Marquesado del Valle.[10]

The importance of the maguey plant in pre-Hispanic Tepoztlán can further be judged by Hernández' description of its uses.

It furnished the people with fire and fence wood, with gutters, tiles and thatching material, paper, and fibres from which shoes and cloth are made. They gather nails and needles from it, as well as fruits, wine, honey, sugar and vinegar.[11]

Other references to the Tepoztecan economy during the sixteenth century deal primarily with taxation and the operation of the *repartimiento* system. As one of the four villas of the Marquesado del Valle, Tepoztlán was an important source of labor supply for the neighboring haciendas. There are frequent references to Tepoztecan men being called upon to labor in the haciendas. During the latter part of the sixteenth century, Tepoztecans were assessed at the rate of four per

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[6] Alfonso Luis Velasco, *Geografía y Estadística*, Bk. VIII.

[7] Cotton (*itchkatl* in Náhuatl) was planted on the edges of the cornfields so that it would not cut down corn production. The cotton seeds were toasted and eaten. Only the poorest families planted cotton and wove it into cloth. The cotton plant was opened and the cotton picked and then beaten to make it fluffy in preparation for spinning. Cotton cloth in Tepoztlán was called *tlasopili*. Náhuatl terms used to describe the various processes are as follows:

itchawitepitl—to beat the cotton with sticks.
tlapochina—to loosen the cotton before spinning.
mazawa—to spin thread.

[8] Redfield reported two looms in Tepoztlán in 1926-27.

[9] Miguel Salinas, "La Sierra de Tepoztlán," *Memorias y Revista de la Sociedad Científica*, Vol. XXXVIII, Nos. 9 and 10 (July, 1920).

[10] *Ibid.*

[11] This is an abstract of Hernández given by J. J. Valentine, in his article on "Mexican Paper," *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, N.S., I (1880-81), 69.